CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION. SPEECH

HON. J. T. WALLS. OF FLORIDA,

In the House of Representatives, Thursday

The House being in Committee of the Whole and having underconsideration the bili (H. R. No 286) to appropriate \$3,00,000 in aid of the Centen and Celebration and International Exhibition of

null celebration and International Exhibition of 1876—
MR. WALLS said:
MR. SPEAKER: — From what I have seen of the wide discussion of the proposed Centennial Exposition, in the public press, and from the course of the debates upon the subject in these halls, it seems to me that a misapprehension of the origin and character of the enterprise, has, from the beginning taken largely from the dignity of the discussion, and has largely and without necessity added acrimony and bitterness to the evident feeling attending it.

acrimony and bitterness to the evident feeling attending it.

The Exposition has, in the Press, even of
this Capitol, been sneeringly alluded to as
"The Philadelphia Job," as though it were
an evident attempt on the part of the people
of Pennsylvania and especially of the City
of Philadelphia, in an improper and unwarrantable manner, from motives of sellish
event to foist mon an indifferent and navilrandom manner, from motives of sensis greed, to foist upon an indifferent and unwilling people, a scheme foreign to their interests, and in opposition to their wishes, all for the petty gains and notoriety that by the adoption of the proposed plan, would inure to the local benefit of a particular section.

It is only upon the supposition of the existence of some such onlying, that Leep sections. It is only upon the supposition of the ex-istence of some such opinion, that I can ac-count for an acerbity of feeling and a harshness of language in the newspaper discus-sion of the Centennial, which, to me, seemed utterly uncalled for, and unworthy of the

From my recollection of the Congressions action hitherto had, and in which I partici-pated, the place of holding a proper Nation-al celebration of the one hundredth birthday of this government and of this people, as a separate and independent nationality, was previous to the fixing of a definite location its celebration, in no sense of the word considered as *a job*, attempted to be put upon anybody. From and indeed previous to any action whatever being had on the to any action whatever being had on the part of Congress, the whole subject had been widely agitated in all parts of the country. And Congressional action was proposed and was had, not in advance of the popular wish and sentiment, but in response to the general and popular demand, and in conformity with the popular wish of the whole people, as evinced in the numerous petitions presented to us.

Indeed, I can but feel that the mere selection and designation of the city of Philadelphia, as the place in which the Exposition should be held, did more than aught else, or indeed all other considerations to excite

leed all other considerations to excit indeed all other considerations to excite jealousy and create animosity before unexpressed and unfelt, but which would, in like manner and for the same causes in due time, have existed against any other locality which night have been nam

night have been named.

But, aside from all these minor and incidental considerations, the aid of Congress having already been granted to some extent to the Centennial by such legislation as was asked; and more, its former assistance having been solicited in a proper manner, by a very numerous and respectable portion of the people at large, as well as by the Centennial Representatives selected an commissioned by the Government from every state and Territory of the Union; and certainly very plausible reasons having been offered for the grant of further national assistance, we have a plain-duty before us.

sistance, we have a plain duty before us.

And, accordingly, it seems to me that under all the circumstances of the case, and in view of the large share of public attention already excited towards the Centennial, and partly in consequence of the very decided encouragement to it drawn from the Congresencouragement to it drawn from the Congres-sional action already had, the very least that we can with propriety do, is to give the whole matter full consideration, in justice to ourselves as well as to the matter appealing so directly to the patriotic sentiments of our whole people, and by a full and fair discus-sion endeavor to assertion the actual west. cavor to ascertain the actual merits of the place proposed; the probable success of the undertaking, the benefits that may be expected to result from it, both to ourselves and to the world; the propriety, upon general principles, of a grant of national aid, and whether or not the extension of such national aid is, by our previous action already

First, then, what are the real merits of the

proposed International Exposition?

In reference to this point, the mere recital of the preface to the Act of Congress, to which the Centennial owes its corporate existence, would seem to suamarize the whole matter in its authoritative announcement of "Whereas, it behooves the people of the United States to colebrate, by autropriate United States to celebrate, by appropriate ecremonics, the Centennial Anniversary of this memorable and decisive event, which constituted the Fourth day of July, Anno Domini, 1776, the birthday of the nation,"

feature of the Centennial seems to have been that it contemplated ublic, emphatic and comprehensive expression by a whole people, who for a hundre sion by a whole people, who for a hundred years had enjoyed a more than usual share of the ordinary blessings of human life, under the genial but powerful influences of an essentially popular government, based upon the organic and paramount doctrines of the Declaration, ascribing to every man born of woman an entire and absolute equality of political rights, of their gratitude for the blessings attending their lot, and the profound appreciation of the adequacy of a free government to the protection of the social, political and personal rights of all within its scope.

Such recognition of advantages received Such recognition of advantages received from the practical operation of existing sys-tems of government have characterized the people of all the various known govern-ments that have existed from time immemo-rial, so much so as to have become a custom well-nigh universal.

cognized thus as proper and becoming under monarchical and even despotic govern-ments, will any say that it is any less proper and becoming to the happy people who ex-ult in the possession of the only literally free government upon the face of the broad earth?

Indeed, there would seem to be a peculia propriety in such a national exhibition to the nations of the world, of our own satisfaction with the capacities and exce

satisfactory by the dangers and reverses as satisfactory by the dangers and reverses as well as the sometimes more dangerous successes of a century of practical trial.

It may be very true that no absolutely new truth and no thereto unheard of discovery

in political science was announced in the Declaration, as a novel and startling base upon which to found a government structure that should challenge the admiration of the nation. Such admitted fact in no way derogates from the value or force of that noblo document. Right there, in the very fact that in the Declaration was nothing intrinsically in the Declaration was nothing intrinsically new, but that it simply gathered up and arranged in systematic order and for a practical purpose in the promotion of human happiness and progress those simple, forcible, and undoubted political truths which had long been acknowledged as true in the abstract, but never practically embodied in any actual and existing form of government, consists the real power of the Dec-

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considered only abstract propositions for the discussion of philosophers, and to serve as themes for sentimental preachers and visionary theorists, to the protection of every-day rights and privileges, and their incorporation into an actual system of government for living men, which aroused the sceptical curiosity, and awakened the incredulous but zealous attention of the political world.

Thus proclaiming nothing actually new to philosphers and theorists, the announced de-

This proclaiming nothing actually new to philosphers and theorists, the announced determination to base upon the truths of the Declaration an actual government of living men, and to place it in competition with existing governments of a variously but totally different character, startled and at first alarmed the nations.

Organically strange and in its emplication.

different character, startled and at first alarmed the nations.

Organically strange, and, in its application of necessity essentially aggressive and practically threatening, the newly organized government met with but chary courtesy from other nations, and early excited an alarm and a proclivity to opposition, which to this day has not entirely disappeared.

While other nations thus so gladly welcome and celebrate those memorial days which remind them of the glorious deeds of their own noble and beloved ancestry, and delight to sound their praise, shall we, a happy and prosperous nation of forty millions, exulting in the possession of a government by the people, entirely adequate to all our wants, and however otherwise differing, united in common satisfaction without political heritage, decline on an appropriate occasion to manifest our gratitude to our fathers and our pride in the perfectness of their work?

What measure of success may be expected to attend an enterprise begun in the spirit

what measure of success may be expected to attend an enterprise begun in the spirit and with the purpose alluded to, is a question with which in fact we have little to do, for the purpose of this discussion, as to the propriety of lending our aid; and yet it is a question, the discussion of which will be to help to influence the action of many in reference to it.

reference to it.

No little weight, however, should attach to
the evident truth, that our action upon the
matter, whether favorable or the reverse, will

matter, whether favorable or the reverse, will be apt to exert a very strong, if not a conclusive influence upon the success or failure of the proposed undertaking.

The Commission, as an organized body, owes its existence as such to the action of Congress which gave the first effective impetus to its life, and in its every stage, so far, has been led on and encouraged by Governmental comproprision and Congressional rnmental, co-operation and Congre-egislation.

legislation.

The entire nationality of its character as indispensable to its probable success, even as a merely national exposition, was fully recognized by the Commission at their first convention, while they were soon convinced that to attempt an international exhibition without the open and emphatic countenance and assistance of the National Government

assistance of the National Government was, from the impossibility otherwise of any formal communication with foreign gov-ernments, wholly absurd. Such countenance, which indeed was fore-shadowed in the direction of the organic law that the Exposition should be held "under the auspices" of the U. S. Government, was sought in the petition for the incorporation the auspices" of the U. S. Government, was sought in the petition for the incorporation of "The Centennial Board of Finance," and

was granted in the enactment of its charter. Thus led on, step by step in its gradual progress, and encouraged by the successive acts of participation by different branches of the National Government, it is scarcely too much to say that the ultimate success of the Exposition, as a full and complete national character, depends upon the determination which we shall reach as to the extension of further national aid.

And, as it seems to me, that consideration alone, that the success of an enterprise which originated as an organized undertaking in Congressional action, and has been in the same manner steadily encouraged hitherto, will depend very largely upon our was granted in the enactment of its charter

hitherto, will depend very largely upon our future action, and will be marred by our refusal of any further aid, should carry with

as great weight.
With such aid as we are now solicited to grant, and which, in view of the many beneficial effects that may reasonably be expected to result from a successful Exposition, is really of little account and nearly insignificant; the favorable progress and successful termination of the Exposition may safely be predicted.

The general interests of the nation as a whole, as well as the particular interests of largely promoted by the intimate interming-ling of citizens from every corner and section of the vast extent of our own country tion of the vast extent of our own country, with an opportunity for a prolonged association with the citizens of far away regions whose very existence has with thousands of our own people secured, from remoteness alone almost mythical, will create an exciting interest in the Exposition which from the time of general assurance of its vigorous prosecution will increase day by day up to the extent of the Exposition.

the close of the Exposition.

Located, as it is, in the midst of one of the most prosperous and densely populated regions of our country; in a city itself conregions of our country; in a city itself con-taining nearly one million of people, and in the near vicinity of a half dozen others with an aggregate population of two millions more, the probable attendance upon the Ex-position from a circle about its location of a position rate a circle about its a statutor of ar radius of 250 miles, or within a single day's travel by rail, may safely be estimated at from two to three millions of our own

people.

The immensity of the mineral resources of The immensity of the mineral resources of this favored country, of which the simple and truthful report has amazed the world,— our incalculable wealth of coal, iron, copper, silver and gold, of which a thorough and ex-haustive exposition will be given, will alone attract the attendance of many thousands

from abroad.

The admitted perfection in the cultivation of various of the mechanic arts, the demon-strated excellence of mechanicai skill

of various of the mechanic arts, the demonstrated excellence of mechanicai skill, attained by our American workmen, as exhibited in the European Expositions with the immense extent and wide distribution of our manufacturing establishments, will be of special interest to many other thousands.

The wide-spread and familiar use of steam and other machinery in the prosecution of all varieties of agricultural as well as merely mechanical work will constitute a feature of the Exposition that will add largely to its attractiveness in the eyes of thoughtful men from all sections.

A full exhibition of the immense variety of the natural productions of the United States, stretching as it does from the tepid waters of the Gulf to the Northern home of the glaciers, and reaching from the orange and grape of California, the banana, the cocoa-nut, and the pine-apple of Florida, to the dwarfed and stunted vegetation of the Polar circle, will present at one glance, so striking and palpable a view of the immense extent of our country with the vast range of vegetable production stretching not in disextent of our country with the vast range of vegetable production, stretching not in dis-tant colonies, but will ultimately and organi-cally, and at no distant period, form a solid continuation of co-terminous States, as to sus-tain universal and irresistible attention.

Indeed, viewed in any probable light, a large attendance and participation from abroad may reasonably be expected to gath-er at the Centennial, if only that aid which is subsequently recessary and the content of the s subsequently necessary now in the time of

From some, among the many nations of the Eastern World, our country has never met with any but the most cordial and kindly support, and their good offices in our behalf have more than once been tendered; for however different in character and tendency may be their own governments, they have

been, wise enough to recognize the strength that may naturally be made to grow out of organic differences. From all those nations warm sympathy and a large attendance may be counted on with certainty.

And, in the cases of nations to whom our own steady and prosperity have been a matter of disappointment and regret, the very jealousies and even animosities that peradventure may exist, will all work together to enhance the carriesity that will induce many to see with their contemplation they have fed perhaps, their grudges.

On all these accounted the recognize the strength that may naturally be made to grow out of of a monarchical character, as is proved in the history of yesterday as well as that of a thousand years ago, as is witnessed to-day in the devotion of his adherents to Don Carlos, in the warm affection of Frenchmen of prominence to the Prince Imperial, and in the undying devotion of the enthusiastic linstances in point iunumerable could easily be adopted for its control to the representations that may be adopted for its control to the representations that may have together to enhance the carried and traditional history, from the noble Roman who knowingly goes the construction which to me seems the only proper one of all these doings and sayings, is, that all does, in the ordinary significance of the words used, means that the various nations of the earth are formally and

is instory, can be incitored than that the immigration.

The incredible extent of the current of humanity that, for the last half century have been constantly drifting towards and flooding this continent, is even now after all the attention of the continent, is even now after all the attention. tention that has been given to it, very little appreciated even by many of our most intel-

igent men.

I care not now to go into many of the as-certained facts in regard to that matter in de-ail, but, in this connection will call atten-

tan, but, in this connection will call attention to only one or two.

Mr. Young, Chief of the Statistical Bureau, in his report for 1870, says, that on averaging the increase to the population of the United States, caused by immigration, it is found that "During the entire period from 1820 to 1870, the increase of each year, over the one immediately preceding, if uniform, would average alone 13 per cent:" and in 1870, he estimates "that the total number of aliens who have been permanently added

would average alone 13 per cent:" and in 1870, he estimates "that the total number of aliens who have been permanently added to our population by direct immigration since the formation of the Government will reach 7,803,863."

What may be the actual and reasonable valuation of such an increase of population, is a nice question, and one which I have no desire to pretend to determine, but in regard to it I prefer once more, to quote from Mr. Young, who on page X of his preliminary chapter of his Report, gives after a fair calculation and comparison of the varying estimates of experts upon that peculiar branch of statistical knowledge, the following calm and cool, but startling estimate of the money value of the annual and aggregate accretion by immigration to the population of this country within the preceding year and the preceding half century.

"From the foregoing consideration, these,"

"From the foregoing consideration therefore, the sum of \$800, seems to be the full average capital value of each immigrant. At this rate those who landed upon our shores during the year just closed, added upwards of \$285,000,000 to our national wealth, while during the last half century the increasement from that course area is \$2,42,800,800,21 rom that source exceeds \$6.243,880,800," And after this reasonable but astonishing

onclusion he proceeds:

"It is impossible to make an intelligent estimate of the value to the country of those foreign born citizens who brought their educated minds, their cultivated tastes, their "In almost every walk of life their influence has been felt, alike in the fearful ordeal of war and in the pursuits of peace, in our legislative halls, and in the various learned professions, the adopted sons of America have attained eminence.

"Among the many who rendered timely aid to our country during the late war, it may seem invidious to mention a single name except for the purpose of illustration. In the year 1839 there arrived at the port of New York in the steamship liritish Queen, which sailed from the port of London, a Swedish emigrant, better known as Captain John Erricson. What was his value to the country as estimated on the 9th day of March,

And, to the above admirable and forcible And, to the above admirable and forcible illustration by Mr. Young of the incalculable value to this country of immigration, I desire to close this part of the discussion by asking some bold man among my colleagues upon this floor to give here and now a cash valuation of the value of the life and services in one direction of such a man as Carl Schurz, and in another of such an one as Louis Agassiz, and still another of such a man as Smithson, Girard, or Stewart.

Tending then as it inevitably will by showing the manifold chances for social, political

Tending then as it inevitably will by showing the manifold chances for social, political and material advancement that in this happy country were offered as free gifts to every son of man who chooses to apply in person for them, and to demonstrate his sincerity by assuming the obligations of American citizenship, to add a powerful and continuing stimulus to a never-ending tide of valuable immigration; for those reasons alone, were there absolutely none others offered, I am in favor of substantial and direct aid to an enterfavor of substantial and direct aid to an enter-prise so palpably capable of such valuable

I will leave to others such comments as the certain improvement in mechanical and artistic skill, which may reasonably be expected to grow out of such a favorable opportunity for the examination and comparison of the master achievements of the trained and skilled workmanship of the world; for I know that this will be with many a favorite and fruitful subject of full discussion.

But I will take the occasion to call attention to a loss direct, but to my mind a no less

tion to a less direct, but to my mind a no less tion to a less direct, but to mymind a no less important effect that may be expected to result from a well understood national and international exposition. I allude to the tendency of such a gathering as will then occur to revive, invigorate, and stir to vigorous life that feeling of national patriotism which recent occurrences in our land have somewhat weakened.

omewhat weakened.

I am well aware of the common inclination to consider patriotism as a sort of myth and a popular delusion, and to look upon any allusion to it as at least bordering upon the

attission to it as at least bottering upon the ridiculous.

Long ago, patriotism was said by an eminent English novelist to be "the love of office," and politics the art of getting it;" and I am not ignorant of the common supposition that, in Southern politics particularly, the actual truth of old Fielding's allegation is being continually illustrated; but, coming from the South, as I do, I desire to say, that the patriotic tendency of the Centennial is not the least attractive or least important feature of it, in the estimation of Southern men, "without respect to previous condition."

In the face of the common drift of the In the face of the common drift of the modern general mind towards ridicule of anything in the way of sentiment in the discussion of important questions, I am fully conscious that I am by no means alone in ascribing to a patriotic attachment to one's own country, its people and its government, a powerful influence in adding to its strength and in increasing the stability of its institutions.

This is proved to be true of all the nation of which history has preserved the records of which history has preserved the records, and equally true of all, no matter what may have been the nature of their govern-ments.

True as this there is even of governments of every State and Territory, and were com- litical necessities of the races and the spon

contemplation they have fed perhaps, their grudges.

On all these accounts then, and in view of all these inducements and moving causes, I count with confidence upon an attendance upon the Exposition, that of itself will command its final success.

I come next to the inquiry as to what, if any, results of any substantial value may be anticipated from the Centennial Exposition, if a fair degree of success attend it.

That benefits of the kind commonly considered as alone being substantial, that is to say, of the kind that bear immediate and upon the Exposition, that of itself will command its final success.

I come next to the inquiry as to what, if any, results of any substantial value may be anticipated from the Centennial Exposition, if a fair degree of success attend it.

That benefits of the kind commonly considered as alone being substantial, that is to say, of the kind that bear immediate and tangille fruit that within some short time makes itself perceptible to the senses, will of necessity be received from such an Exposition as is contemplated, I can have no doubt. No more direct, nor any more effective agency in the promotion of national strength and growth, so far as is shown in the experite ence of this country as plainly written in its history, can be mentioned than that of immigration.

The incredible extent of the current of human in the supposition of a more successive to the force or enhances the vicinity of the considerate patriotism of a houghtful and intelligent citizenship, ministers directly to the permanical sources of the health and strength of the control of the current of the curr

citizenship, ministers directly to the perma-nent sources of the health and strength of the nation to which they belong.

the nation to which they belong.

Does any man suppose that the Fathers of '76, with the halter dangling before their eyes, affixed their signatures to the Declaration, from deliberate conviction that pecution, from the would therefrom result?

tion, from deliberate conviction that pecu-niary gain to them would therefrom result? Was greed the animus of that ever memora-ble political announcement of "millions for defence, not one cent for tribute?" In tracing their course over the frozen ground of Valley Forge, did those who fol-lowed Washington, or lurking in the gloomy swamps of the Carolinas, did those who were "out?" with Marion believe that patriotism was "the love of office!"

"out" with Marion believe that patriotism was "the love of office!"

So I believe that when from every corner of this broad land, from every State and Territory, thousands and millions of the free citizens of a free government shall assemble in the very cradle and place of the birth of all that politically they hold dear, and exchanging with each other the mutual grasp and the meaning glances of a common citizenship, there will be aroused in the bosoms of all a higher and purer sense of the bosoms of all a higher and purer sense of the bosoms of all a higher and purer sense of the bosoms of all a higher and purer sense of the consense of the sense of the sense origin and beneficent sway they are met to celebrate, than they have ever before been permitted to feel, and which will strengthen all the lands which can unite freemen to their all the lands which can unite freemen to their native land, and kindle a blaze of patriotic feeling in whose dazzling light all questions of minor differences, and all hurtful recollection of past differences will be blotted

Necognizing fully the obligations of a large majority of those to whose suffrages I owe my official presence in this hall, to the tardy, but, in the end, the full and complete vindication of the sublime and sublimely simple announcements of the Declaration, I am willing that others should find anusement in contemplating the Centennial as "an overgrown and spread-eagle 4th of July;" while for myself and at least four millions of the new Freemen of this land of Liberty, I will hope that in the mercy of God my own life may be spared, till, aniong the crowding thousands of exulting freemen, I may on the 4th of July, 1876, stand in the very shadow of Independence Hall and with glowing heart read the undying words of Webster: "When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in Heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissovered, discordant, belligerent; our land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance, rather behold the gorgeous entire of the Eevelie, now known and hone. Recognizing fully the obligations of a large in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance, rather behold the gorgous ensign of the Republic now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, not a single star obscured—bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory, as 'What is all this worth?' nor those other works of details on and falls. 'I liket's first and as 'What is all this worth?' nor those other words of delusion and folly, 'Liberty first and Union afterwards'—but everywhere spread all over it in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart—Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"

Entertaining such sentiments and cherisl ing the hope that the day of the termination of one hundred years from the birth of our Government, may by common consent and by universal adoption be fixed upon as the day of the definite and emphatic termination of all feelings of harshness and bitterness arising from our recent contentions, I shall not apologize for mine, however unfashiona-ble they may be held to be, but still continue to hold them, hoping for them a wider adop-tion and a more commanding prevalence.

In the presence of so many who are infinitely better versed in all matters of the legal and constitutional authority of Congress to make a grant of pecuniary aid, I do not propose to occupy much time with that part of the discussion.

the discussion.

If the Centennial is right and proper in itself, as I think it is; if it will promote the general harmony, increase the fervor of the common patriotism, and so strengthen the sources of national strength; if it will unite sources of national strength; if it will timbe more closely together the now somewhat discordant and jarring interests of the North and the South; if it will tend to discourage and extinguish all feelings of sectionalism; if it will stimulate that immigration to which more than to all others except organic agen-cies we owe our wonderful national growth; if it will promote and advance our progress in the industrial arts; then I have faith to

in the industrial arts; then I have faith to believe that no specifically permissive power is constitutionally necessary.

In a common-sense way I look about for analogies and I find them spread around me on every hand. I find National Banks established, a circulating medium of paper money created, Pacific Railroads built, the tablished, a circulating medium of paper money created, Pacific Railroads built, the the improvement of internal harbors and rivers effected, vast sections of foreign territory purchased and incorporated with our own, a Board of Immigration established, provision at a large expense for a periodical Census, a National Observatory established and supported, and all, so far as I can discover, without any specific permission given in the Constitution, and I am satisfied that the good results expected and attained thereby give, in my opinion, sufficient warrant, and I am content to consent to an appropriation for the Centennial on the same ground on which the picture of the Father of his Country was placed upon the walls of the Capital that took his name.

And, however others may feel at liberty to regard the previous action of Congress, and of the Executive in obedience to such action, as having been taken under a sort of duress of moonsideration, and as to be construed in a sort of l'ickwickian sense, I cannot so regard it.

not so regard it.

The Commission was inaugurated by and took its organic life from the action of Congress, in accordance with the wishes expressed by direct petition and through the press, of a large portion of the citizens. The Commissioners were under and by virtue of Congressional action selected by the Executive

The construction which to me seems the only proper one of all these doings and sayings, is, that all does, in the ordinary significance of the words used, means that the various nations of the earth are formally and officially informed of these doings; and that they may take special means by distortion of words to consider themselves by all means to absent themselves, but that they were invited by their representatives to be executed. to absent themselves, but that they were invited by their representatives to be present and participate in this National and International Festival, and in an exhibition of natural resources, in the products of the shop and the mine, and in the evidences of the advancement made in social, educational, scientific and mechanical progress within the Republic of the western continent.

And finally, I am constrained to a hearty support of the Centennial from a conviction that whether the effect of the Exhibition be great or small, whether it be entirely beneficial or not upon the Northern or Eastern States, its results upon the Western, and par-

ficial or not upon the Northern or Eastern States, its results upon the Western, and particularly the Southern States, will be prolific in great and unmingled good.

With a climate of unexampled mildness, and yet, with the exception of extreme cold, existing in various sections, almost every conceivable grade of temperature, between the mild temperate and the tropical; with every known description of soil, the various kinds being intermingled in all desirable ways and in large proportion of a character for fertility equalling the best; with a range of vegetable production, extending from the lime, the cocon, and the coffee from the fervent climate of the Tropic, to the green, the vent climate of the Tropic, to the green, the forage, and the fruit of the Temperate zone, the South, as a distinct division of our com-

mon country is worthy of vastly more atten-tion, relatively, than she has yet received.

In no part of the world that has for an equal length of time been occupied by civil-ized men, can be found so great a wealth of mineral resources, that is so little known and

ment.

For more than half a century, the South as a whole has been given so exclusively to agricultural pursuits and those of the ruder kinds alone, which were involved in the raising, by unskilled labor the usual crops of corn, cane and cotton, as now in the time of un entire revolution of her whole system of abor, to find herself utterly destitute of those higher agricultural and mechanical

or those higher agricultural and mechanical employments which have proved so lucrative in the North and West.

Again by the abolition of slavery, in which mainly by her own fault; but also partially through the consenting toleration of the North and West, the South was instantaneously deprived of an incalculable amount of capital actually invested, which has operated as a similar destruction of what stood for property and represented capital, would have

as a similar destruction of what stood for property and represented capital, would have operated elsewhere in the world, and has reduced the whole section to comparative, and it may be said, actual poverty.

With all her great variety of valuable productions, and all her great wealth of mineral resources; with her abundance of cheap fuel for the operation of steam machinery and pleuary water power abundant through her whole extent, the South, may be said to furnish a vast, rich field for profitable development of manufacturing industry, but as yet, almost entirely unoccupied.

The patent sources of untold wealth remain dormant, because first, this existence is only known to a small proportion of the

main dormant, because first, this existence is only known to a small proportion of the world, who never dream of the advantages there offered; and second, because of a wide-ly prevalent notion that the introduction of capital would not be safe and immigration would not there be welcome.

Knowing personally that in my own sunny State, as fair and promising fields for agricultural labor, mechanical skill and manufacturing capital, are offered, with as much of safe, as hearty a welcome, and as good a prospect of success as can be found any. safe, as hearty a welcome, and as good a prospect of success as can be found anywhere, in the North or West, or indeed in the world; and having reason to believe that, in these respects, what is true of Florida is true of the South as a whole, I am anxious that she should be better known to our people and to the nations of the world.

that she should be better known to our peo-ple and to the nations of the world. Seeing, then, in the proposed Centennial Exposition, an opportunity not likely soon to recur, to exhibit to the widest observation the manifold capacities and resources of the Southern States, and to make fully known to the consible appropriation of the largest numthe sensible appreciation of the largest number of discriminating observers, the thousairare and valuable inducements to immigration. It have in addition to that general into est so proper for all, an interest which is, I trust, of a pardonable sectional character, that my own State, and her sisters of the South may have a chance to be more fully and more particularly known, for then I know they will be more highly considered.

And now, almost reluctantly, I leave this abject with a closing remark:

I desire to say, as of my own personal knowledge, that in my own State very much of the not inexplicable bitterness and hostility of feeling between the different classes of citizens, which followed after the war, and not, as it strikes me, unnaturally so, has now for several years hene gradually and rapidly or several years been gradually and rapidly

from any peculiarity of the treatment that he as a stranger, would there receive.

As apid and as extensive progress towards a homogenity of feeling and a unity of interest, as could possibly have been anticipated by the most sanguine anti-slavery man of en years ago.

From this, as a natural result, it has fol-

lowed that very much more of a feeling of acceptation of the startling results of the late war is actually felt, than is by any one pub-

licly acknowledged.

The sanctity of the Union is tacitly conceded, the majesty of the inherent power of a free government is felt and known, so much so that if, in the future, any strong tendency to increasing the power of the Government, by concentration should ever be manifested, it will, in my opinion, first develop itself in the Southern States.

While something of remaining bitterness still rankles in the breasts of a small portion of the "irrecognitible" it indicates

still rankles in the breasts of a small portion of the "irreconcilable," it does not indicate the general feeling.

With the many, and the best of the whole, the old Government and Constitution of the Fathers have received an increased sanc-

tion from their baptism of blood.

The streaming folds of the "Flag of the Free" have received an increase of for

an added significance.

Many, very many, of those who once fought against that flag under the delusions of sectionalism, are now more fully aware of the extent and folly of their wide political departure than any care in words to admit. But let once more the Starry Flag be unfurled in a national cause, whatever it be, to convince the world that the whole American continent is to be reserved for the gradual

taneous joy of a free people at their unbroke Union and the restored unity of that nation ality, and none will hail the glorious of

COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE

STATES AND TERRITORIES.

(THE NEW NATIONAL ERA does not hold itself ; ons will be gladly received.] -

From Alabama

SELMA, ALA., May 13, 1872.

DEAR SIR: I feel that I am called upo in justification of myself and to vindicate the charges as alleged in my last communication to your inestimable and very valuable paper, for the reason that I "defied truthful contradiction," and again you say in your comment, "the allusion to the Hon. Alexander White, made by our correspondent at Selma, Alabama, does that gentleman injustice Mr. White is in favor of the Civil Rights Bill, and will vote for it. There is not a more carnest man in Congress in the desire to bring this nation up to the full triumph of liberty, justice, and civil and political equality for all men than is the Hon. Alexander White." Now, I must either extricate myself by way of proof, or else remain a selfconvicted liar. And why? Because I have invited "truthful contradiction." And upon this invitation the Notional Republican, of this city, comes to the rescue with the following: "Some individual in this district, signing himself W. J. Stevens, pretending to believe otherwise, writes a bitter, vindictive, and scurrillous letter to the New Era, in which the writer not only denounces Bromberg, a Democrat, who was elected to Congress from the district, owing to a misunderstanding be-tween the Republicans, but has displayed a vast amount of either ignorance in the

natter to which he refers, or an unwarranta-

ble prejudice in his allusion to the Hon

Alexander White." Before I adduce the proof of Mr. White' insincerity of his advocacy of the Civil Rights Bill, I think I had better dispose of the Editor of the National Republican. He starts off in this paragraph, by saying, "some individual," with his great pomposity and presumptuousness, that he did not know who I was. Now it may not say much for the editor of a Republican paper, of a Republican county, to say that he does not know the chief deputy tax collector; but my friend is excusable, from the fact that he has not been in Dallas long enough to know who I am. In fact, it cannot be expected that a green countryman can be as expert in finding out who the citizens are as one who is born and raised in our midst. I would like to know what induced the Editor of the Republican to desert his county (Talladego) to come here. where he is the honored Representative I think this will answer the whole story. White and Parsons, the great politica sharks of the age, has conceived the idea of being the masters of Alabama: and in furtherance of this idea they thought they must establish a new paper in the cotton belt, so there would be no trouble in handling the negro. Hence it is they have brought the Representative from Talladego to Selma to edit and run this paper. But now to substantiate the allegations of my last letter, that "the Hon. Alexander White had been weighed in the balance and found wanting.' The best evidence that he intended to lefraud the colored element of the Republic can party of this State is that he ran for two offices at the same time-one for Representative from Dallas, and the other as Congressman from the State at large. I will not consume your valuable space by references as found in the *Journal* for the years 1872, 1873, for there the "facts and figures" stands for themselves, and any one can see then any impartial mind that Mr. White dodged and evaded the Civil Rights Bill as intro duced by the talented and able member from Barbour, A. E. Williams, (colored.) This, the original Civil Rights Bills, emanated fro the Civil Rights Association, which the Hon James T. Rapier has the honor of being its President until this day. I will not give you my words, but quote from the Mobil Watchman, whose authority I presume wil not be questioned in this matter.:

"We were on the floor of the House whe the Hon. A. E. Williams, of Barbour, intro duced a bill for the protection of all citizen of Alabama in their civil rights and to furnish the means for their vindication. The intro duction of this biil brought Mr. White to hi feet, who attacked the measure with the venom of a demon and the unfairness of a lemagogue. He charged upon the friends of easure that it was a Democratic move, and that the colored members were being used by the Democrats to introduce chaos and on into the Republican party, and that if this bill should be placed upon the statute books that blood and destruction would dim the fair fame of Alabama. Mr. White never Rights Bill until he had succeeded in array ing every white Republican from North Ala bama, with but two exceptions, against its passage. And thus did he insure the defea of the Civil Rights Bill."

Now, I would like to know what prop two of the ablest colored members there were in the House to inform Mr. White that they held him responsible for the defeat of the Civil Rights Bill; that he had deceived the colored people who had sent him to represent them in the Legislature of Alabami and that he should never again possess th confidence of the colored men of Alabama, who had entrusted him with their destiny in point of civil rights. The gentlemen whom I alluded to are A. E. Williams and G. S. W. Lewis.

I will now quote from a Democratic paper which I have at hand. After showing up all the members of the House, how they

continent is to be reserved for the gradual occupation of popular governments, attaining to the stature of strength and national manhood by steady and normal growth development; or whether it be displayed above a National Centennial Exposition, as unfurled to celebrate a common and patriotic exultation at the trumphant demonstration, by a hundred years of trial and practical use of the wisdom and forecast of our Fathers, the adequacy of popular government for the powers.

RATES OF ADVERTISING. TRANSIENT ADVERTISING RATES

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JOB AND BOOK PRINTING. in all its branches, done with neathers and dis-patch. Order afrom all parts of the country will be promptly attended. Our friends in the Southern States will find it to their advantage to give us their orders for cards handbilla etc., etc.

the second time before his name was reached. The negroes will now understand the professions of those who have been claiming to be their best friends." I don't suppose it would be out of place if I were to give Mr. White's own words

against the negro. Hear him: "I will suffer my right arm severed from the body before I would accept an office conferred by negro votes." This he said in the streets of Selma in 1868 while canvassing for Seymour and Now, Mr. Editor, I ask in the face of all these facts if I am not justified in asserting that "Mr. White has been weighed and

found wanting." And if it be true that Mr. White is an earnest and ardent supporter of the Civil Rights Bill, he will certainly be another political example of the couplet: "That while the lamp holds out to burn,

The vilest sinner may return." I shall watch with considerable interest Mr. White's actions; and if he does vote in manner showing that he is willing simply to do right, and give fair play to his fellow citizens, and that he cheerfully accord the colored man all, all, of his political rights, I will then freely east all of my objections into an oblivion, where I trust they will remain forever forgotten. Then, too, I can accredit him for honesty of action and liberality of

vast amount of ignorance, or an unwarrantable prejudice." I know this is rather a long communication, but I must beg its publicity as an ex-

purpose that will ever rise superior to "a

oneration of myself. I am still yours, &c.,

WM. J. STEVENS.

From South Carolina.

To the Memory of Hon. Charles Summer. The Banner of Hope Association (composed of gentlemen and ladies,) for mental and moral improvement of Laurensville, met Monday evening, April 27, 1874, and adopt-

WHEREAS, It has pleased Almighty God in His Allwise Providence, to remove from this world of trouble and sorrow, one of the nation's truest guides, and Liberty's bright-test light—Hon. Charles Sumer; and WHEREAS, In the discretion of this young

WHEREAS, In the discretion of this young Association, is thought and even believed that his death is not only a great loss to the United States Senate and his undertaking, but an event to be mourned for, by the native of the senate of the s tion, it is therefore necessary that we (though in a dark spot of South Carolina,) make some expressions of heartfelt sorrow, touching the great loss which the nation sustained; therefore be it

Resolved, By the Banner of Hope Association, of Laurensville, That this Association, with others, have learned with heartfelt regret, of the death of Hon. Charles Summer, gret, of the death of Hon. Charles Summer, a man of several years' experience in the nation's Court; but, while we willingly bow in humble submission to the overruling power of our Allwise Creator, we sincerely join with our friends abroad and the relatives of the nation's shining light in condolement, hoping that though "The harvest is past, and the 'summer' ended, yet we may be saved."

saved."

Resolved, That we (though as it were in a Acsocia, 1 nat we (though as it were in a place of darkness, recognize a great loss in the death of Hon. Charles Summer — to the dark-minded a shining light,—one of the nation's ablest leaders,—the race so long in servitude, its bravest advocate, (though brutally knocked down and beat severely brutally knocked down and beat severely by Brooks, of our State, for advocating the liberty of the down-trodden race,) and Massachusetts her fairest star.

PRATT S. SUBER, ANDREW P. BUTLER BENJ. F. McDowell,

Moral Reflections No. 12.-

Jesus knowing that the Father had given all things into His hands, and that He was come from God, and went to God; He come from God, and went to God; He useth from Supper and laid aside his garments, and took a towel and girded himself. After that, He poureth water into a basin, and began to wash the Disciple's feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith He was girded."—John will 125.

This incident of washing the Disciples' feet by the Saviour at the last Passover Supper, we look upon now as a wonderful act of condescension. It must have been regarded as still more wonderful in an age when humility was unknown as a virtue. The form of this condescension is perhaps in itself a matter of indifference-it is the spirit that is impotent.

It was a menial survice, and thus a trac or pitome of Jesus' whole life of humility and ervice on earth.

He came not to be ministered unto, but to

And the great lesson thus taught so significantly by the Master was, that His fol-lowers should be helpful; that they should regard it as their highest honor to do good to their fellow-men : that true merit is in a lowly mind; that he is the greatest who is most humble, most loving, most self-denying, and most abounds in the fruit of good living to the glory of God.

They, and they only, whose good works shall follow them into the eternal world, shall receive the plaudit: "Well done, good and faithful servant.," High places, great wealth, large attainments in learning a science, or grand achievements, which so much attract the admiration of the world, are nothing in the sight of God. "The sacrifices of God are of a broken spirit, a broken heart : O God, thou wilt not despise To do Good and communicate, forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased.' "He that would be great among you, let him be your minister."

WASHINGTON CITY, March 9, 1874.

The bishops of Cambrai and Versailles have arrived in Rome and handed to His Holiucas Pio Nono large sums of money as Peter's pence from France. Bismarck is becoming jealous. He thinks that Prussia should have had that little pile as indemnity